

**From offence to defence:**  
**The Australian Global Justice Movement and the impact of 9/11**

Elizabeth Humphrys  
**University of Technology Sydney**

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## **CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ORIGINALITY**

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree, except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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Signature of Candidate

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Sections of this thesis have been published or presented in earlier forms:

- My thoughts on the GLBTI and queer groups involved in the GJM in Australia, discussed in Chapter 4, were first presented as a conference paper titled ‘GLAM, QUEER and QuACE: Sexuality meets anti-capitalism on the streets of Melbourne’ at the 2007 conference *Queer Space: Centres and Peripheries*. The paper was published in the online proceedings. Thank you to the two anonymous referees who provided feedback on the paper.
- An earlier version of the discussion of movement-relevant research from Chapter 2 was published in a special issue of *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* (Vol 1/2) as ‘Thinking and Theorising About Activism: Who and How?’. The volume arose from an earlier conference, *Other Worlds 2: After the Neo-Con Men*, and I appreciate the assistance of co-organisers and co-editors Associate Professor James Goodman, Dr Christina Ho and Dr Heather Formaini. Thank you also to the two anonymous referees for feedback and suggestions.
- Edited sections of Chapter 4 appear in the introduction to Issue 2/1 of the social movements journal *Interface*, co-edited with Alf Nielsen and Andrejs Berdnikovs.
- Sections of the Introduction have also appeared on the Overland Journal Blog, as *Our s11*, on the anniversary of the tenth anniversary of the s11 protests.
- Chapter 6, and excerpts of Chapter 4, have been accepted as a chapter in a forthcoming book on Marxism and Social Movements, edited by Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, Alf Nilsen and John Krinsky.

# Contents

Acknowledgements .....	3
Abstract .....	7
List of illustrations and tables .....	8
Acronyms and terms list.....	9
Introduction .....	11
Chapter 1: Studying totality .....	16
Putting roots down with definitions.....	16
Early theories and the role of Marxism .....	20
Alternative theories of social movements .....	22
The Atlantic divide .....	24
Critiques of the dominant approaches .....	30
Reconfiguring the analytical space.....	34
Chapter 2: Between activism and the academy.....	40
Towards more movement-relevant research.....	40
Notes on methods .....	42
Who were the interviewees?.....	48
Chapter 3: The Global Justice Movement.....	50
PART A: THE GLOBAL CONTEXT .....	51
Growing critiques of neoliberalism .....	51
Movement antecedents .....	56
The Emerald City awakes (to the smell of tear gas).....	60
PART B: THE NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT .....	64
Ripples from Seattle .....	64
The coherence of the movement.....	68
Chapter 4: The global travels local .....	72
Australian movement antecedents.....	72
The tide comes in.....	80
The coming together of (and at) s11.....	86
From defence to offence .....	89
Chapter 5: The weight of the event .....	96
The return of the Genoa contingent.....	97
Assessing the impact of 9/11 .....	101
The decline of the GJM in Australia .....	103
Key factors arising from outside .....	105
Internal factors and pre-existing weaknesses .....	109
The moment of rupture .....	114
Campaigners and Networkers.....	115

Chapter 6: Movement Networkers as organic intellectuals .....	118
Situating Gramsci .....	119
Intellectuals: traditional and organic .....	123
Organic intellectuals within movements .....	124
Caught in moments of transition .....	127
Conclusion: Learning in retreat .....	131
Research contributions .....	134
Possible dimensions for further research.....	135
In conclusion.....	136
Appendix A: Interview guide .....	138
Appendix B: Key GJM protests and demonstrations (Global), j18 to the 4 <sup>th</sup> World Social Forum.....	140
Appendix C: Key GJM protests and demonstrations (Australia), j18 to Stop APEC .....	141
Enclosure A: Movement map .....	142
Bibliography .....	143

# Abstract

This thesis examines the trajectory of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) in Australia and the impact of the 9/11 attacks, in particular focusing on the period 1999- 2002. The questions of the dramatic rise and, as many argue, fall of the movement are assessed. While some have argued 9/11 was the death of the Australian GJM, others believe it didn't constitute a significant setback. This thesis therefore inquires into the extent to which these arguments about a 'setback' provide an accurate account of conditions and circumstances of the GJM in Australia post 9/11. In this sense, the research is at once concerned with the question of the development of the movement in Australia and the wider neoliberal global context the movement was a part of.

This thesis considers the complexity of factors that shaped the trajectory of the GJM in Australia and argues against the simplistic notion that the 9/11 attacks *caused* the collapse of the movement. Rather, it argues there are key internal and external factors that negatively impacted on the movement and fundamentally altered its shape in the period after the attacks. While these factors are not in practice separate, and are part of the global environment the movement found itself in, it is useful to delineate them analytically so their particular shape and impact can be clarified.

Significant attention is paid to the activities and insights of the activists interviewed for this research, and their understanding of the course of the movement. It is argued that although there was a spread of views amongst the activists, their understanding of the impact of 9/11 crystallised as two tendencies (to be called Campaigners and Networkers). It is argued that the particular reflexive activity, or praxis, of the Networkers, provided them with a more holistic appreciation of the movement and the impact of the attacks. The thesis uses the work of Antonio Gramsci to analyse these two tendencies, arguing that his concept of an organic intellectual offers a useful way for understanding how such differentiation developed and its significance.

# List of illustrations and tables

Page 44	<b>Illustration A:</b> Screen shot of map of the Global Justice Movement in Australia (non-identified)
Page 45	<b>Illustration B:</b> Screen shot of map of the Global Justice Movement in Australia (activists identified)
Page 60	<b>Table 1:</b> Emerging frames of the Global Justice Movement
Page 84	<b>Table 2:</b> Characteristics of Australian Global Justice Movement elements
Page 89	<b>Table 3:</b> Penetration of key topics in the Australian Media
Page 104	<b>Table 4:</b> External and internal factors related to decline of the Global Justice Movement in Australia
Page 113	<b>Table 5:</b> Key protest events in Australia after 9/11 (excerpt from Appendix C)



# Acronyms and terms list

9/11	The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on September 11 2001
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AFTINET	Australian Fair Trade and Investment Network
AFL-CIO	Umbrella organisation for trade unions in the USA
ATTAC	Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens
AWOL	The grouping Autonomous Web of Liberation
CACTUS	Campaign Against Corporate Tyranny United in Solidarity
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
DAN	Direct Action Network
FNS	Food Not Scabs
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
G8	Self appointed group of eight leading economies (USA, UK, Canada, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Italy)
G20	Finance ministers and central bank governors from 19 leading economies and the European Union.
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GJM	Global Justice Movement
GLAM	Gays and Lesbians Against Multinationals
GLBTI	Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and intersex
IMF	International Monetary Fund
j18	The signifier of the ‘Carnival Against Capitalism’ protests and actions on June 18 1999
m1	The signifier of the demonstrations and actions on May 1 2001 and May 1 2002 in Australian capital cities, and elsewhere globally
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
MUA	Maritime Union of Australia
n30	The signifier of the demonstrations against the WTO Conference on Seattle, beginning 30 November 1999
NGO	Non-government organisation
NSMT	New Social Movement Theory
NVivo	A data analysis software program, designed for researchers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PGA	Peoples’ Global Action
PPT	Political Process Theory

QuACE	Queers United Against Capitalist Exploitation
QUEER	Queers United to Eradicate Economic Rationalism
RMT	Resource Mobilisation Theory
RTS	Reclaim The Streets
s10	Signifier for the park based festival and public forums held on 10 September 2000, as counter events to at the Summit of the Asia-Pacific World Economic Forum
s11	Signifier for the blockades and protests at the Summit of the Asia-Pacific World Economic Forum on 11 September 2000
TCFUA	Textiles, Clothing and Footwear Union of Australia
VTHC	Victorian Trades Hall Council
WEF	World Economic Forum
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organisation